

Translational methods used for rendering special characteristics of Hebrew interrogatives in Karaim Bible translations

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The paper deals with the methods the Karaim translators used for rendering special characteristics of Hebrew interrogatives in their translations of Biblical texts. The author has previously dealt with the translation of Hebrew interrogatives in a Halich Karaim Bible translation; see Olach 2013. Investigation of further chapters of the same Halich Karaim translation and other sources, e.g. the so-called *Gözleve Bible*, however, provided with new examples and made it necessary to re-examine the subject. The new data confirm the author's assumptions about the translation types represented by Karaim Bible translations as described in Olach 2013.

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1. Introduction

Karaim is classified as a high-copying Turkic language.¹ Long and intensive contact with non-Turkic languages has caused changes in Karaim phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon. Copied non-Turkic features can be attested both in the spoken varieties and in written Karaim, for instance in the language of the Karaim Bible translations.

In the present paper I will deal with the methods the Karaim translators used for rendering special characteristics of Hebrew interrogatives in their Bible translations. I have previously dealt with the translation of Hebrew interrogatives in a Halich Karaim Bible translation; see Olach 2013. In this paper, I will present some additional features found in chapters from the same translation not described in Olach 2013 and in the so-called *Gözleve Bible*. The new data may also strengthen my assumptions about the translation types represented by Karaim Bible translations as described in Olach 2013.

¹ A previous version of the article was presented at the 17th International Conference on Turkish Linguistics held September 3–5, 2014 in Rouan, France. I thank Professor Éva Csató Johanson (Uppsala University, Sweden) for her suggestions relating to Karaim issues and Professor Mats Eskhult (Uppsala University, Sweden) for his help with Biblical Hebrew.

The main corpus used for the present study is a Halich Karaim family bible of the family Abrahamovich, who originally lived in the Ukrainian town of Halich. It is hand-written and contains the five books of Moses (*Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers* and *Deuteronomy*) and several parts of the books of the prophets. It comprises 512 pages, with 27 lines on each page. 60 pages of the manuscript in transcription were published in Olach 2013.

In addition, translations of biblical texts into Trakai Karaim published by Tadeusz Kowalski (1929), Mykolas Firkovičius (1994) and Michał Németh (2014) were also used. In Kowalski's publication, the first few chapters of *Genesis* and the *Book of Job* provide us with some additional examples. Examples can also be found in the Trakai Karaim translation of the Book of Psalms published by Firkovičius. Some chapters (18: 1–20: 23, 19: 1–25, 20: 1–23) are taken from the version of *Exodus* available in Németh 2014, which contains a few instances of interrogation as well.

Crimean Karaim examples were taken from the following Bible translations: fragments from the books of *Genesis*, *Deuteronomy* and *Lamentations* published by Henryk Jankowski in 1997, and Chapter 13 from the version of *Nehemia* published by Dan Shapira in 2013. Examples from the *Gözleve Bible* (1841) will be given as well.²

In describing the characteristics of interrogation occurring in Karaim translations of Biblical texts, the terminology applied by Floor (2007) will be used. According to his classification, two dimensions of Bible translations can be used to outline four different translation types. On the one hand, translations may bear more or less resemblance to the semantics of the source language text. Based on this dimension, translations may be classed as resemblant or interpretative translations. On the other hand, translators may make fewer or more adjustments to the form of the source language; thus translations may be more close or more open.

In the following, I will first give a brief description of the Turkic features of the interrogatives used in the Karaim Bible translations. Then the non-Turkic characteristics will be illustrated.

2. Turkic features of the interrogatives in Karaim translations of biblical texts

In Turkic languages, *wh*-questions are formed by means of interrogative pronouns. The basic interrogative pronouns attested in the corpus are *kim* 'who?', *ne?* 'what?', and pronouns based on *qay-* 'which?', for instance *qaydan* 'from where?'. See example (1): *qaydan keldiniz?* 'Where did you come from?' and example (2): *ne üçün sen olturasen jalğyz özüj?* 'Why do you sit alone?'.

2 I am grateful to Dr. Mustafa Kılıçarslan (Fatih University, Turkey) and the Crimean Karaim Association for making it possible for me to use a photocopy of the manuscript titled *Ahd-i Atik* (known as the *Gözleve Bible*).

- (1) a. Biblical Hebrew³
mēʔáyin bāʔem
 from where you have come.V.Q.PRF.MASC2PL
 ‘Where have you come from?’⁴ Gen. 42:7
- b. Halich Karaim
qaydan kel:di:niz⁵
 from where? come:DI.PST:2PL
 ‘Where did you come from?’ Gen. 42:7 (103/10)
- (2) a. Biblical Hebrew
maddú^{ac} ʔattā^h yôšēb
 why? you.PRN:MASC2SG sit.V:QAL.PTCP.MASC.SG.ABS
ləḥaddēkā
 in your solitude.PREP.N:MASC.SG.CONST.SUFF:MASC2SG
 ‘Why do you sit alone?’ Exod. 18:14
- b. Trakai Karaim (Németh 2014: 119)
ne üčün sen oltur:a:sen jalgyz öz:üj töre et:me⁶
 why? you sit:A.NPST:2SG alone self:POSS2SG judge:INF
 ‘Why do you alone sit to judge?’ Exod. 18:14 (114 r° 14)

On the other hand, in yes/no questions a question particle is used in Turkic. This is either attached to the element whose content is being interrogated or follows the predication. The placement of the question particle, however, “varies across languages, and also language-internally to some degree” (Johanson 2002a: 31, 57–58). In the corpus, the question particle usually takes the form *-mo* (HKar, TKar) and *-mi/-mī* (CrKar).⁷ It can be added to nouns, personal pronouns, verbs or copu-

3 The transcription and the glossing of Biblical Hebrew examples were done using the software BibleWorks 8.

4 For the English translation of Biblical Hebrew examples, the *Revised Standard Version* 19712 was generally used. In cases where this version differs significantly from the Hebrew original, the *English Revised Version* 1885 is given in footnote.

5 I employed my own transcription system for the Halich Karaim examples and the instances taken from the *Gözleve Bible*. Otherwise, the transcriptions used by the authors of the quoted articles have been retained for the Trakai Karaim and Crimean Karaim examples. For their transcription systems see Kowalski 1929; Firkovičius 1994; Jankowski 1997; Shapira 2013; Németh 2014.

6 The expression *töre etme* ‘to judge’ is an insertion into the manuscript which is not part of the translation kept in the Sulimowicz Collection (Németh 2014: 119, footnote 72).

7 In spoken Trakai Karaim, the particle has a variant, *-ma*, as well, and in Panevėžys four variants are in use: *-mo*, *-ma*, *-mō*, *-mā* (Musaev 1964: 328).

las.⁸ When the noun has suffixes, e.g. case markers, the particle follows the suffix, as can be seen in the Halich Karaim example (3): *ol aḡactanmo ki zīnharladīm sana asamasqa, andanmo asadīn?* ‘From the tree I have forbidden you to eat, did you eat?’. In this example, the question particle follows the ablative marker *-tan/-dan*: *aḡactanmo?* ‘from the tree?’ and *andanmo?* ‘from that?’. Consider that the question particle occurs twice in the sentence. In the Trakai Karaim and the Crimean Karaim versions, the particle is attached only to the noun ‘tree’. As can be seen in the Hebrew example, the question particle *hā* is attached only once to the expression *min-hā‘ēš* ‘from the tree’.

(3) a. Biblical Hebrew

hāmin- hā‘ēš ʔāšer
 from?Q.PREP the tree.DEF.N:MASC.SG.ABS which
šiwwiṭīkā ləbilti
 I commanded you.V:PIEL.PRF1SG.SUFF:MASC2SG to not.PREP.NEG
ʔākol- mimménū ʔākáltā
 to eat.V:QAL.INF.CONST from it.PREP.SUFF:masc3sg you ate.V:QAL.PRF.MASC2SG
 ‘Have you eaten of the tree of which I commanded you not to eat?’ Gen. 3:11

b. Halich Karaim

ol aḡac:tan:mo ki zīnharla:dī:m sana asa:masqa
 the tree:ABL:Q that forbid:DI.PST:1SG you.DAT eat:NEG.IMP
andan:mo asa:dī:n
 it:ABL:Q eat:DI.PST:2SG
 ‘from the tree I have forbidden you to eat, did you eat?’ Gen. 3:11 (6/14)

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)

ol aḡač:tan:mī ki tenvah ād:ti:m saṇa
 the tree:ABL:Q that forbid:DI.PST:1SG you.DAT
aša:ma:maq:qa andan aša:dī:ṇ
 eat:NEG:INF:DAT it:ABL eat:DI.PST:2SG
 ‘from the tree I have forbidden you to eat, did you eat?’ Gen. 3:11 (12/23)

d. Trakai Karaim (Kowalski 1929: 49)

ol aḡač:tan:mo ki buḡur:du:m saṇa aša:masḡa
 the tree:ABL:Q that forbid:DI.PST:1SG you.DAT eat:NEG.IMP
andan aša:dī:ḡ
 it:ABL eat:DI.PST:2SG
 ‘from the tree I have forbidden you to eat, did you eat?’ Gen. 3:11

8 In spoken Karaim, the question particle may occur in non-typical positions as well, e.g. after the first word of a clause in which the whole clause is questioned; see Csátó’s description (in print). For further examples, see Csátó (1999).

3. Non-Turkic features of the interrogatives in Karaim translations of biblical texts

There are certain similarities between Karaim and Biblical Hebrew. Both languages employ question particles in yes/no questions, while question words are used in *wh*-questions. The question words are of pronominal origin in both languages (cf. Waltke & O'Connor 1990: 316–329). But Hebrew interrogatives exhibit features not characteristic of Turkic.

Since the Karaim translators aimed to faithfully render the sacred language of the Hebrew Bible, several linguistic features of Biblical Hebrew have been copied onto the Karaim language of the translations. These include certain characteristics of interrogation. In the following, these features of Biblical Hebrew will be illustrated.

3.1. Conventional translations

3.1.1. Translation of Hebrew interrogatives containing a demonstrative pronoun

In Biblical Hebrew, true demonstratives, i.e. demonstratives with a *z* or *l* element such as *ze^h* ‘this’, may be used as attributive adjectives or as predicative adjectives. In certain expressions, they may have deictic force (Waltke & O'Connor 1990: 310–312). Sometimes true demonstratives occur in interrogations. The demonstrative *ze^h* ‘this’, for instance, has an emphatic function in Biblical Hebrew in exclamatory questions or presentatives (Waltke & O'Connor 1990: 312–313).

In the Karaim texts studied here, the usual translational equivalent of the Hebrew demonstrative pronoun *ze^h* ‘this’ is the Turkic demonstrative pronoun *bu* ‘this’. The pronoun *bu* ‘this’ also occurs in translating the Hebrew pronoun in questions, though it is not used with this function in Karaim. In example (4), the Hebrew demonstrative *ze^h* ‘this’ is used together with the question word *lāmmā^h* ‘why?’. This expression is translated into Halich Karaim by a combination of the question word *nege* ‘why?’ and the demonstrative pronoun *bu* ‘this’: *nege bu kildi śarah* ‘Why did Sarah laugh?’. In the Crimean Karaim translation only *nüčün* ‘why?’ occurs.

- (4) a. Biblical Hebrew
lāmmā^h *zze^h*
 to why.PREP.Q this.ADJ:MASC.SG
śāḥāqā^h *śārā^h*
 she laughed.V:QAL.PRF.FEM3SG Sarah
 ‘Why did Sarah laugh?’ Gen. 18:13
- b. Halich Karaim
nege *bu* *kil:di* *śarah*
 why this laugh:DI.PST3SG Sarah
 ‘Why did Sarah laugh?’ Gen. 18:13 (33/6)
- c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)
nüčün *gül:di* *śarah*
 why laugh:DI.PST3SG Sarah
 ‘Why did Sarah laugh?’ Gen. 18:13 (35/6)

Trakai Karaim translations may demonstrate this feature as well. For instance the form *ńęga-bu* ‘why-this’ can be observed in example (5): *da ńęga-bu ńęčlik byla ńęčláh:a:siž?* ‘why then with uselessness have you been deceived?’, where *da ńęga-bu* is the translational equivalent of the Hebrew *wəlommā^h-zze^h* ‘and-why-this?’.⁹

- (5) a. Biblical Hebrew
wəlommā^h-zze^h
 and to why.CONJ.PREP.Q this.ADJ.MASC.SG
hebel tehbālū
 empty you have been worthless.V:QAL.IPRF.MASC2PL
 ‘why then have you become altogether vain?’ Job 27:12
- b. Trakai Karaim (Kowalski 1929: 23)
da ńęga-bu ńęčlik byla ńęčláh:a:siž?
 and why-this uselessness with be deceived.A.NPST:2PL
 ‘why then with uselessness have you been deceived?’ Job 27:12

The demonstrative pronoun *bu* ‘this’ can be omitted in the Trakai Karaim translation. See, for instance, example (6) in which the translation of *lāmmā^h-zze^h* ‘why-this?’ is not *ńęga-bu* ‘why-this?’ but *ńęga* ‘why?’.

- (6) a. Biblical Hebrew
lāmmā^h-zze^h hebel ńġā
 to why-this nothingness I exert (myself)
 ‘Why then do I labour in vain?’ Job 9:29
- b. Trakai Karaim (Kowalski 1929: 9)
ńęga ńęčlik:k’a zaχmet’ čeg’a:miń?
 why uselessness:DAT exert:A.NPST:1SG
 ‘Why do I exert [effort] for uselessness?’ Job 9:29

Example (7) also demonstrates the use of a demonstrative pronoun in interrogation, but with the question word ‘from where?’. In Biblical Hebrew, we find a combination of the interrogative particle *ʔē* ‘where?’, the preposition *min-* ‘from’ and the demonstrative pronoun *ze^h* ‘this’: *ʔē-mizze^h* ‘from where?’. This combination is translated with maximum formal resemblance into Halich Karaim; thus *qaydan bundan?* ‘from where?’ occurs in the corpus: *hayar, qaravasī šaraynīn, qaydan bundan kelesen* ‘Hagar, maid of Sarai, where have you come from?’. As can be seen, the ablative case suffix, the translational equivalent of the Hebrew preposition *min-* ‘from’, is attached to both the Karaim question word *qay-* and the demonstrative

9 The demonstrative pronoun *bu* ‘this’ also occurs in interrogative sentences in secular texts, e.g. in a theatre play: *keĵre-bu ol kačty?* ‘Where did (s)he flee to?’ (Kowalski 1929: 137).

pronoun *bu*. The Crimean Karaim translator does not use the demonstrative pronoun *bu* ‘this’ in his translation.

(7) a. Biblical Hebrew

hāḡār šīpḥat śāray ʔē- mizze^h
 Hagar maid of.N:FEM.SG.CONST Sarai where-from-this
bāʔt
 you have come.V.Q.PRF.FEM2SG
 ‘Hagar, maid of Sarai, where have you come from?’ Gen. 16:8

b. Halich Karaim

haḡar qaravas:ī śaray:nin qay:dan bu:ndan kel:e:sen
 Hagar maid:POSS3SG Sarai:GEN where:ABL this:ABL come:A.NPST:2SG
 ‘Hagar, maid of Sarai, where have you come from?’ Gen 16:8 (29/17)

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)

haḡar qaravaš:ī saray:nin qay:dan gel:ir:sin
 Hagar maid:POSS3SG Sarai:GEN where:ABL come:R.NPST:2SG
 ‘Hagar, maid of Sarai, where have you come from?’ Gen. 16:8 (32/8)

The Trakai Karaim translation of the Hebrew ‘*ē- mizze^h* ‘from where?’—composed of *ʔē-* ‘where’, *min-* ‘from’ and *ze^h* ‘this’—also contains the demonstrative pronoun *bu* ‘this’, however the ablative marker is not attached to the pronoun, as occurs in the Halich Karaim translation (consider *qaydan bundan?* ‘from where?’). Instead the word *orun* ‘place’ is inserted and takes the ablative marker. Thus the Trakai Karaim translation reads as follows: *kaṣy-bu orundan k’elasiñ?* ‘Which place do you come from?’; see example (8). Consider also that the question word is not *qaydan?* ‘from where?’ but *kaṣy?* ‘which?’. It seems that the translator used an open translation of *ē- mizze^h* ‘from where?’ in this verse.

(8) a. Biblical Hebrew

ʔē mizze^h tāḡōʔ
 where-from-this you come
 ‘Whence have you come?’ Job 2:2

b. Trakai Karaim (Kowalski 1929: 2)

kaṣy-bu orun:dan k’el:a:siñ?
 which-this place:ABL come:A.NPST:2SG
 ‘Which place do you come from?’ Job 2:2

3.1.2. Hebrew wishes introduced with interrogatives

In Biblical Hebrew, the question word *mī* ‘who?’ and the interrogative phrase *mī-yittēn* ‘who shall give?’ have a special function. Although, grammatically they form a question, clauses containing *mī* ‘who?’ or *mī-yittēn* ‘who shall give?’ express wishes (Gibson 1994: 186). Wishes in Karaim do not employ any question words or

interrogative phrases; thus this feature of Biblical Hebrew is completely alien to Karaim. Nonetheless, every Karaim Bible translator gives a close translation of such clauses; no adjustments can be observed. Thus, the question word *kim* ‘who?’ and its combination with the verb *ber-/ver-* ‘to give’ (i.e. *kim ber-/kim ver-* ‘who give?’) occur in the Karaim corpus. First the translation of a wish expressed with *mī* ‘who?’ is illustrated; see (9).

- (9) a. Biblical Hebrew
mī *yaʾāḱīlénū* *bāšār*
 who.Q shall cause to eat us.V:HYPH.IPRF.MASC3SG.SUFF:1PL flesh.N:MASC.SG.ABS
 ‘o that we had meat to eat’ Num. 11:4
- b. Halich Karaim
kim *asattir:si:ydi* *biz:ge et*
 who.Q cause to eat:HYP:COP.DI.PST3SG we:DAT flesh
 ‘who made us eat meat?’ Num. 11:4 (328/2)
- c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)
kim *ašat:qay* *e:di* *biz:gā et*
 who.Q cause to eat:OPT be:DI.PST3SG we:DAT flesh
 ‘who made us eat meat?’ Num. 11:4 (265/21)

Examples (10) and (11) illustrate the use of *kim ber-/kim ver-* in Halich Karaim and Crimean Karaim Bible translations.

- (10) a. Biblical Hebrew
mī- *yittēn* *mūṭénū*
 who.Q shall give.V:QAL.IPRF.MASC3SG our death.V:QAL.INF.CONST.SUFF:1PL
bəyad- *yhwh(ʾādōnāy)*
 in the hand of.PREP.N:FEM.SG.CONST LORD
bəʾéres *mišráyim*
 in the land of.PREP.N:FEM.SG.CONST Egypt
 ‘Would that we had died by the hand of the LORD in the land of Egypt’ . Exod. 16:3
- b. Halich Karaim
kim *ber:ši:ydi* *elgen:imiz:ni*
 who.Q give:HYP:COP.DI.PST3SG death:POSS1PL:ACC
qudrat:ī:nda *ha:nīn* *yer:i:nde* *micri:nin*
 power:POSS3SG:LOC LORD:GEN land:POSS3SG:LOC Egypt:GEN
 ‘who had given our death by the power of the LORD in the land of Egypt’
 Exod. 16:3 (161/3)
- c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)
kim *ver:sā* *e:di* *ölgen:imiz:ni*
 who.Q give:HYP be:DI.PST3SG death:POSS1PL:ACC

qudart:ī bīlan ha:nīn yer:i:ndā micri:nīn
 power:POSS3SG with LORD:GEN land:POSS3SG:LOC Egypt:GEN
 ‘who had given our death by the power of the LORD in the land of Egypt’
 Exod. 16:3 (132/2)

(11) a. Biblical Hebrew

mī- yittēn ʿereb
 who.Q shall give.V:QAL.IPRF.masc3SG evening
 ‘would it were evening!’ Deut. 28:67

b. Halich Karaim

kim ber:si:ydi ingir:ni
 who.Q give:HYP:COP.DL.PST3SG evening:ACC
 ‘who would have given the evening?’ Deut. 28:67 (457/24)

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)

kim ver:gāy e:di iñir:ni
 who.Q give:OPT be:DL.PST3SG evening:ACC
 ‘who would have given the evening?’ Deut. 28:67 (373/20)

Close translations of *mī* ‘who?’ and *mī-yittēn* ‘who will give?’ in Hebrew wishes can be found in Trakai Karaim translations as well; see for instance (12) and (13). As for the translation of *mī-yittēn* ‘who will give?’, not only finite, but also non-finite verb forms, here converb in *-(y)Ip*, can be used; see (13).

(12) a. Biblical Hebrew

mī- yittānēnī
 who.Q gives me.V:QAL.IPRF.masc3sg.SUFF:1SG
kəyar hē- qēdem
 as months of.PREP.N:MASC.PL.CONST old. N:MASC.SG.ABS
 ‘oh, that I were as in the months of old’ Job 29:2

b. Trakai Karaim (Kowalski 1929: 24)

kim b'er:še:īdir meni avahy aī:lar:da kibik
 who give:HYP:COP3SG me (ACC) old month:PL:LOC like
 ‘who would have given me like in the old months?’ Job 29:2

(13) a. Biblical Hebrew

mī yittēn ʾēlōh dabbēr
 who.Q gives.V:QAL.IPRF.MASC3SG God would speak.V:PIEL.INF.CONST
 ‘but oh, that God would speak’ Job 11:5

b. Trakai Karaim (Kowalski 1929: 10)

da vale kim ber:īp t'enrī šoźla:še:īdyr
 and but who.Q give:P.CONV God speak:HYP:COP3SG
 ‘and but who would have given that God would speak?’ Job 11:5



3.2. Variations in translations

3.2.1. Translation of Biblical Hebrew rhetorical questions composed with *hālōʔ*

In Biblical Hebrew, negative rhetorical questions are introduced with *hālōʔ*, i.e. a combination of the question particle *hā* and the negative particle *lōʔ* (Gibson 1997: 167). In Karaim Bible translations, two strategies for the translation of *hālōʔ* can be observed. The translator either gives a close and resemblant translation or provides an open and interpretative translation. In close and resemblant translations of *hālōʔ*, the precise translational equivalent of the elements of *hālōʔ* occurs; i.e. both a question particle and negation are used. For example, the translation of the Hebrew *hālōʔ tikkālēm* ‘if she is not humiliated?’ in example (14) (containing the negation *-me* and the question particle *-mo*) is *imen:me:giy:di:mo?* [be ashamed:NEG:OPT:DI.PST3sg:Q] ‘shouldn’t she be ashamed?’. Consider the open and interpretative translation found in the Gözleve Bible.

- (14) a. Biblical Hebrew
hālōʔ tikkālēm šibʿaṭ yāmīm
 if not she is humiliated.V:NIPH.IPRF.fem3sg seven days.N:MASC.PL.ABS
 ‘should she not be ashamed seven days?’ Num. 12:14
- b. Halich Karaim (Olach 2013: 166)
imen:me:giy:di:mo yedi kin:ler aln:i:ndan anin
 be ashamed:NEG:OPT:COP.DI.PST3SG:Qseven day:PL front:POSS3SG:ABL he:GEN
 ‘shouldn’t she be ashamed for seven days in front of him?’ Num. 12:14 (331/26)
- c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)
muna uyal:ir e:di yedi gün:lär
 behold! be ashamed:R.NPST be: DI.PST3SG seven day:PL
 ‘shouldn’t she be ashamed for seven days in front of him?’ Num. 12:14 (268/24)

In most of the cases, however, the elements of *hālōʔ*—i.e. a question particle and negation—are not reflected, but instead adjustments are made and an interpretation introduced with *muna* ‘behold!’ occurs. See for instance example (15). When a conflict has arisen between the herdsmen of Abram’s cattle and the herdsmen of Lot’s cattle, Abram suggests to Lot that they separate, saying: “Is not the whole land before you? Separate yourself from me.” As can be seen, this time both the Halich Karaim and the Crimean Karaim translation of Abram’s rhetorical question contain no traces of any interrogation, but *muna* ‘behold!’ is used in a declarative sentence: *muna bar ol yer aldindadi senin / muna jumla ol yer aldihadir* ‘behold, the whole land is before you!’

- (15) a. Biblical Hebrew
hālōʔ kol- hāʾāreš
 if not whole the land.DEF.N:FEM.SG.ABS

ləpāne'kā

to front of you.PREP.N:BOTH.CONST.SUFF:MASC2SG

'Is not the whole land before you?' Gen. 13:9

b. Halich Karaim

muna bar ol yer ald:in:da:di *senin*

behold! whole that land front:POSS2SG:LOC:COP3SG you:GEN

'Behold, the whole land is before you!' Gen. 13:9 (24/17)

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)

muna jumla ol yer ald:in:a:dir

behold! whole that land front:POSS2SG:DAT:COP3SG

'Behold, the whole land is before you!' Gen. 13:9 (28/13)

Adjustments and interpretation can be found in example (16) as well. Jacob wanted to marry Rachel, and therefore he served Rachel's father Laban for seven years. Afterwards, Laban allowed him to marry Rachel, and the couple had their wedding ceremony. The next morning, however, Jacob discovered that he had been deceived by Laban and it was Leah, Laban's elder daughter whom he married. He confronted Laban, saying: "What is this you have done to me? Did I not serve with you for Rachel? Why then have you deceived me?"

The Hebrew original for *Did I not serve with you for Rachel?* contains *hālōʔ*, but the Karaim translations again employ *muna* 'behold!' with a declarative sentence: *muna raxel icin qulluq ettim birgene senin* 'Behold, I served with you for Rachel!' and *muna raxel üčün qulluq ettim birgeje* 'Behold, I served with you for Rachel!'.

(16) a. Biblical Hebrew

hālōʔ bəraḥēl ʿābādti ʿimmāk

if not for Rachel I worked.V:QAL.PRF.1sg with you.PREP.SUFF:fem2sg

'Did I not serve with you for Rachel?' Gen. 29:25

b. Halich Karaim

muna raxel icin qulluq et:ti:m birgene *senin*

behold! Rachel for serve:DL.PST:1SG together:POSS2SG:DAT you (GEN)

'Behold, I served with you for Rachel!' Gen. 29:25 (66/25)

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)

muna raxel üčün qulluq et:ti:m birgeje

behold! Rachel for serve:DL.PST:1SG together:POSS2SG:DAT

'Behold, I served with you for Rachel!' Gen. 29:25 (59/7)

As was illustrated above, the Halich Karaim and the Crimean Karaim translators decided to employ an open and interpretative translation instead of semantically and morphologically mapping the Hebrew original form *hālōʔ*. For a further Crimean Karaim example, taken from the translation whose original is kept in Manchester, see example (17). An interpretative translation containing *muna!* 'behold!' can be seen in example (18) as well, which is quoted from the Book of Nehemia.

- (17) a. Biblical Hebrew
hālōʔ- hūʔ kāmūs *ʿimmādī*
 if not it stored up.V:QAL.PASS.PTCP.MASC.SG.ABS with me.PREP.SUFF:1SG
ḥāṭūm
 sealed up.V:QAL.PASS.PTCP.MASC.SG.ABS
bəʔōšrōṭāy
 in my treasures.PREP.N:MASC.PL.CONST.SUFF:1SG
 ‘is not this laid up in store with me, sealed up in my treasures?’ Deut. 32:34
- b. Crimean Karaim (Jankowski 1997: 47)
muna ol saqlanʔan:dür bīrgä:m:ä möhörlängän:dür
 behold the preserved:COP3SG together:POSS1SG:DAT sealed:COP3SG
ḡazna:lar:īm:da
 treasure:PL:POSS1SG:LOC
 ‘look, it is preserved with me; it is sealed in my treasures’ 244a (21)
- (18) a. Biblical Hebrew
hālōʔ kōʔ ʿāsū *ʾābōṭēkēm*
 if not here they did.V:QAL.PRF3PL your fathers.N:MASC.PL.CONST.SUFF:MASC2PL
 ‘Did not your fathers act in this way?’ Neh. 13:18
- b. Crimean Karaim (Shapira 2013: 184)
Muna bulay qiyli:di:lar¹⁰ ata:lar:igiz
 behold! this way do:DI.PST:3pl father:PL:poss2pl
 ‘Behold, your fathers acted this way!’ Neh. 13:18

The studied Trakai Karaim translations provide only a few examples of rendering *hālōʔ*. As can be seen in (19), *muna* ‘behold!’ is again used with a declarative clause: *muna šuʔ:nu kibik kujuštur:du:ḡ meni* ‘Behold! You caused me to be curdled like milk’ (Kowalski 1929a: 9).

- (19) a. Biblical Hebrew
hālōʔ keḥālāb
 if not like the milk.PREP.DEF.N:MASC.SG.ABS
tattikēnī
 you poured me.V:HIPH.IPRF.masc2sg.SUFF:1SG
 ‘didst thou not pour me out like milk [...]?’ Job 10:10

10 Shapira’s footnote: “A misprint for **qilaydilar*” (Shapira 2013: 188). No photocopy of the manuscript is appended to the article by which to judge, but I assume that the original form of the word is *qil:di:lar* ‘they did’. Thus the vowel *i* is probably written with *hīreq* + *yōḡ*, and under the first letter *lāmed* there is a *šəwā* marking the sequences of consonants; i.e. no vowel is denoted there. Since *šəwā* and *hīreq* differ by only one dot, it is sometimes difficult to decide if the quality of a manuscript is not good enough.

- b. Trakai Karaim (Kowalski 1929: 9)

muna šut:nu kibik kujuštur:du:j meni,
 behold milk:ACC like cause to curdle:DI.PST:2SG I:ACC
 ‘behold, you caused me to curdle like milk’ Job 10:10



3.2.2. Translation of Hebrew *hā -ʔim* constructions

Alongside its basic hypothetical function, the Hebrew hypothetical particle *ʔim* ‘if’ can also be used in interrogation. In double, triple and alternative questions in Hebrew, the question particle *hā* is employed in the first clause, whereas the particle *ʔim* ‘if’ (or *wəʔim* ‘and if’) is used in the second and third clauses (Gibson 1997: 184; Waltke & O’Connor 1990: 510, 684–685).

In Karaim, the hypothetical marker *-sA* occurs in hypothetical sentences; it cannot be used for forming questions (Musaev 1964: 290–294; Firkovičius 1996: 120–121; Musaev 2003: 327–331). This important difference between Biblical Hebrew and Karaim results in different translational methods. On the one hand, close translation, i.e. rendering the original function of *ʔim* ‘if’ in the second, third, etc. clauses, may be given. On the other hand, the translator may prefer an open translation, in which case these questions are translated by Karaim interrogative forms without the use of the hypothetical marker. For a close translation see example (20), where the hypothetical particle is represented by the hypothetical form of the verbs in the Halich Karaim example: *soyulsalar* ‘if they are slaughtered’ and *istürinsa* ‘if it is gathered’. The Crimean Karaim translation contains *-sA* as well: *soyulsa* ‘if it is slaughtered’ and *toplansa* ‘if it is gathered’. The interrogation is represented only with the verb *yet-* ‘to suffice’ but does not occur in the first clause.

- (20) a. Biblical Hebrew

hāšōʔ ūbāqār yiššāhēt lāhem
 flock? and cattle is slaughtered.V:NIPH.IPRF.MASC3SG to them.PREP.SUFF:3PL
ūmāšāʔ lāhem
 and is enough.V:QAL.W.CON.S.PRF.MASC3SG to them.PREP.SUFF:3PL
ʔim ʔēt- kol-
 if DIR.OBJ all.N:MASC.SG.CONST
dāḡē hayyām
 fishes.N:MASC.PL.CONST the sea.DEF.N:MASC.SG.ABS
yēʔāsēp lāhem
 he assembles.V:NIPH.IPRF.MASC3SG to them.PREP.SUFF:3PL
ūmāšāʔ lāhem
 and is enough.V:QAL.W.CON.S.PRF.MASC3SG to them.PREP.SUFF:3PL
 ‘shall flocks and herds be slaughtered for them, to suffice them? or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them, to suffice them?’ Num. 11:22

- b. Halich Karaim (Olach 2013: 169)

qoy:mo da sigir:mo soyul:ur alar:ga ki yet:key
 flock:Q and cattle:Q be slaughtered:R.NPST3SG they:DAT that suffice:OPT3SG

alar:ğa soyul:sa:lar alar:ğa da yet:er:mo alar:ğa
 they:DAT be slaughtered:HYP:3PL they:DAT and suffice:R.NPST3SG:Q they:DAT
yemese osol bar baliq:lar:i ol tengiz:nin istirin:sa
 or that all fish:PL:POSS3SG the sea:GEN be gathered:HYP3SG
alar:ğa da yet:er:mo alar:ğa
 they:DAT and suffice:R.NPST3SG:Q they:DAT
 ‘flock or cattle will be slaughtered for them, that it shall suffice for them? or if all
 the fishes of the sea be gathered together for them, shall it suffice for them?’
 Num. 11:22 (329/17)

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)

qoy da sigir soyul:sa alar:ğa da yet:är:mi
 flock and cattle be slaughtered:hyp3sg they:DAT and suffice:R.NPST3SG:Q
alar:ğa yaxut jumla baliq:lar:i ol deñiz:niñ
 they:DAT or that fish:PL:POSS3SG the sea:GEN
toplan:sa alar:ğa da yet:är:mi alar:ğa
 be gathered:HYP3SG they:DAT and suffice:R.NPST3SG:Q they:DAT
 ‘flock or cattle will be slaughtered for them, that it shall suffice for them? or if all
 the fishes of the sea be gathered together for them, shall it suffice for them?’
 Num. 11:22 (267/2)

An open translation is illustrated by example (21), where the semantics of the *hã* - *’im* construction, however, is maintained and represented by the use of the question particle *-mo* in every clause: *bardimo/varmüdir* ‘is there?’ and *yoxtumo/yoq-mi* ‘is there not?’.

(21) a. Biblical Hebrew

hãyēš yhw h bəqirbēnū
 being?:Q.PTCL:ADV LORD in midst of us.PREP.N:MASC.SG.CONST.SUFF:1PL
’im- ’āyīn
 if nothing
 ‘is the LORD among us or not?’ Exod. 17:7

b. Halich Karaim (Olach 2013: 170)

bar:dī:mo haşgaxa:sī ha:nin orta:miz:da
 exist:COP3SG:Q divine presence:POSS3SG LORD:GEN midst:POSS1PL:LOC
biz:nin yemese yox:tu:mo
 we:GEN or not exist:COP3SG:Q
 ‘is the divine presence of LORD in the midst of us or not?’ Exod. 17:7 (164/19)

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)

var:mī:dır ha orta:miz:da yaxut yoq-mi
 exist:Q:COP3SG LORD midst:POSS1PL:LOC or not exist-Q
 ‘is the divine presence of LORD in the midst of us or not?’ Exod. 17:7 (134/24)

The use of the question particle in the second or third clause, however, seems to be optional; see example (22) where the question particle *-mo* is attached only to the

verb *yiri-/yürü-* ‘to walk’ and not to *yoq* ‘there is no’. Consider that the Hebrew hypothetical particle *ʔim* is attached to the negative particle *lōʔ*.

(22) a. Biblical Hebrew

hăyēlēk *bəʔōrāʔi*
he walks?.Q.V:QAL.IPRF.MASC3SG with my law.PREP.N:FEM.SG.CONST.SUFF:1SG
ʔim- lōʔ
if not
‘whether they will walk in my law or not’ Exod. 16:4

b. Halich Karaim (Olach 2013: 171)

yiri:r:mo *tora:m* *bila* *yemeše* *yoq*
walk:R.NPST3SG:Q law:POSS1SG with or not
‘whether he walks with my law or not’ Exod. 16:4 (161/10)

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)

yürü:r:mi *tora:m* *bilan* *yaxut* *yoq*
walk:R.NPST3SG:Q law:POSS1SG with or not
‘whether he walks with my law or not’ Exod. 16:4 (132/6)

In the studied Trakai Karaim corpus, only open translations of Hebrew double or triple questions can be found; i.e., no hypothetical marker *–sA* is used and instead the Karaim question particle occurs in double or triple questions; see example (23): *múvrėjimudur* ‘does (s)he/it bray?’, *čuvleјimudur* ‘does (s)he/it low?’.

(23) a. Biblical Hebrew

hăyīnhəq- *péreʔ*
brays?.Q.V:QAL.IPRF.MASC3SG a wild donkey.N:MASC.SG.ABS
ʕālē- dəšeʔ *ʔim* *yīgʕeḥ*
on.PREP grass.N:MASC.SG.ABS if lows.V:QAL.IPRF.MASC3SG
ššôr *ʕal-* *bəlîlô*
ox.N:MASC.SG.ABS on.PREP his fodder.N:MASC.SG.CONST.SUFF:MASC3SG
‘does the wild ass bray when he has grass, or the ox low over his fodder?’ Job 6:5

b. Trakai Karaim (Kowalski 1929: 6)

múvrė:j:mu:duř *kijik* *at* *kođoi* *űšt:u:ńa,*
bray:A.NPST:Q:3SG wild horse grass top:POSS3SG:DAT
јem *čuvle:j:mu:duř* *ođuz* *јem:i* *űšt:u:ńa,*
or low:A.NPST:Q:3SG ox fodder:POSS3SG top:POSS3SG:DAT
‘does the wild horse bray over grass, or does the ox low over his fodder?’ Job 6:5

3.2.3. Translation of the combination of the Hebrew question particle and other particles

In Biblical Hebrew, particles can be attached to the question particle *hă-* in order to express emphasis. For instance, the particle *gam* ‘also, moreover’ can be combined with *hă-* (Gibson 1994: 167). In Karaim Bible translations, different translational

methods can be observed for rendering emphatic questions containing *hăḡam*. In the Halich Karaim translation, the translational equivalent is *daḡin:mo* ‘really?’; i.e. no adjustments are made.¹¹ The aim of the translator to render the Hebrew original text as closely as possible resulted in the unexpected occurrence of the question particle on *daḡin* ‘again, over, also’ instead of the element whose content is asked for (*kerdim* ‘I saw’).

As the example below shows, interrogation is not marked in the Crimean Karaim translation where the semantics of the Hebrew particle *ḡam* ‘moreover’ are reflected by the use of *daḡin* ‘again, over, also’, but the question particle *–mo* is not used.

(24) a. Biblical Hebrew

hăḡam *hălôm* *rāʾî*
also?.Q.CONJ here.ADV I have seen.V:QAL.PRF.1SG
ʾahărê *rōʾî*
after them.N:MASC.PL.CONST seeing me.V:QAL.ptcpl.MASC.SG.CONST.SUFF.1SG
‘Have I really seen God and remained alive after seeing him?’¹² Gen 16:13

b. Halich Karaim

daḡin:mo *bu:nda* *da* *ker:di:m* *malʾak:ni*
also:Q this:LOC and see:DI.PST:1SG angel:ACC
ker:gen:im:den *sortun* *iv:i:nde* *biy:im:nin*
see:GAN:POSS1SG:ABL after house:POSS3SG:LOC Lord:POSS1SG:GEN
‘Did I really see the angel after seeing (him) in the house of the Lord?’
Gen. 16:13 (29/27)

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)

daḡin *mu:nda* *gôr:di:m* *gôr:gân:im:dân* *sonra*
also this:LOC see:DI.PST:1SG see:GAN:POSS1SG:ABL after
‘I also saw (him) here after seeing (him)’ Gen. 16:13 (32/15)

The combination *hăḡam* is translated in a different way into Trakai Karaim. Although the question particle element *–mo* occurs, it is not attached to *dahy* ‘also, again’, but to the verbal element of the clause (*bolalyr-mo biermia* ‘is he able to give?’). This is understandable if we consider that the question particle in Turkic is attached to the element whose content is questioned (see above).

(25) a. Biblical Hebrew

hăḡam- *leḥem* *yúkal* *têl*
also?.Q.CONJ bread he is able.V:QAL.IPRF.MASC3SG to give.V:QAL.INF.CONST

11 The lexical item *daḡi* and *daḡin* means ‘also, again’, but the expression *daḡin mî?*, i.e. *daḡin* with a question particle, has the meaning ‘really?’ (KRPS 168).

12 The ERV translation is ‘Have I even here looked after him that seeth me?’.

- ²*im-* *yāḱîn* *šəʔēr ləʕammô*
 if he prepares.V:HIPH.IPRF.MASC3SG meat to his people.PREP.N:MASC.SG.CONST
 ‘Can he also give bread, or provide meat for his people?’ Psa. 78:20
- b. Trakai Karaim (Firkovičius 1994: 88)
dahy ōtʹmiak bolal:yr-mo bier:mia jemiesia tiuziu:r-mo
 also bread able to do:R.NPST3SG-Q give:INF or provide:R.NPST3sg-Q
ètʹ ulus:u:na
 meat people:POSS3SG:DAT
 ‘Can he also give bread, or provide meat for his people?’ Psa. 78:20

The combination of the Hebrew question particle *hā-* and ²*umnām* ‘indeed’ occurs a few times in the Hebrew Bible. When it occurs, it is translated into Halich Karaim in a closer way; see (26) below. This time the Crimean Karaim translator renders the Hebrew interrogation with a question, but he attaches the question particle to the verbal element of the Karaim clause (*bola almas-mī edim?* ‘Am I not able to?’).

- (26) a. Biblical Hebrew
hāʔumnām lōʔ ʔūḱal
 indeed?.Q.CONJ not I am able.V:QAL.IPRF1SG
kabbəḏēḱā
 to honour you.V:PIEL.INF.CONST.SUFF:MASC2SG
 ‘Am I not able to honour you?’¹³ Num. 22:37
- b. Halich Karaim
kertiden:mo bolal:ma:men sīyla:ma seni
 really:Q able to do:NEG.R.NPST:1SG honour:INF you (ACC)
 ‘Am I really not able to honour you?’ Num. 22:37 (359/4)
- c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)
gerčāk bol:a al:mas:mī e:dī:m sīyla:ma:ga seni
 real be:A.CONV take:NEG.R.NPST:Q be:DI.PST:1SG honour:INF:DAT you (ACC)
 ‘Am I really not able to honour you?’ Num. 22:37 (291/19)

In the published Trakai Karaim sources, only one instance of the rendering of the Hebrew *hāʔumnām* ‘indeed?’ can be found. Although the translation of the Hebrew verse of Psalm 58:2 differs from the original (*bir orunha ištyrylyp* ‘gathering in one place’ stands for ²*ēlem* ‘silence of’), the Karaim expression *kiertidiañ-mo* ‘really?’ is an accurate translational equivalent of *hāʔumnām* ‘indeed?’.

- (27) a. Biblical Hebrew
hāʔumnām ʔēlem šəḏeq
 indeed?.Q.CONJ silence of.N:MASC.SG.CONST rightness.N:MASC.SG.ABS

13 The ERV translation is ‘am I not able indeed to promote thee to honour?’

təḏabbērûn

you speak.V:PIEL.IPRF.MASC2PL

‘Do you indeed decree what is right?’¹⁴ Psa. 58:2

- b. Trakai Karaim (Firkovičius 1994: 62)

kiertidiañ-mo bir orun:ha ištyryl:yp rastlych:ny siožlie:j:siž

really-Q one place:DAT gather:P.CONV rightness:ACC speak:A.NPST:2SG

‘Do you indeed, gathering in one place speak rightness?’ Psa. 58:2

3.3. Rare occurrences

3.3.1. Translation of Hebrew question words used in special expressions

Sometimes, the question words *mî* ‘who?’ and *ma^h* ‘what?’ can be found in clauses in which their usage is not typical. Thus, *mî* ‘who?’ may be used “of things when the idea of a person is involved”, whereas *ma^h* ‘what?’ may be employed “of persons if their circumstances or relations be inquired of” (Gibson 1994: 7). For instance, we find *mî* ‘who?’ in example (28), since the question refers to the people of Jacob when he meets Esau. Seeing so many people there with Jacob, Esau asks: ‘What do you mean by all this company?’. The Karaim translators map the original Hebrew question in the most accurate manner and use *kimdi?/kimdir?* ‘who?’ in their translations.

- (28) a. Biblical Hebrew

mî ləḳā kol- hammaḥāne^h

who.Q to you.PREP.SUFF:MASC2SG all the camp.DEF.N:BOTH.SG.ABS

hazze^h

the this.DEF.ADJ:MASC.SG

‘What do you mean by all this company?’ Gen. 33:8

- b. Halich Karaim

kim:di sana bar ol awul ol uspu

who:COP3SG you (DAT) all that camp that very that

‘who is all that camp to you?’ Gen. 33:8 (80/10)

- c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)

kim:dir sāniḡ jumla ušbu awul

who:COP3SG you (GEN) all very that camp

‘who is all that camp to you?’ Gen. 33:8 (80/10)

3.3.2. Translation of Hebrew interrogatives with repeated question words

To express emphasis, not only the true demonstratives can be used, but in exceptional cases repetition of the Hebrew question word *mî* ‘who?’ can occur (Gibson 1994:

14 The ERV translation is ‘Do ye indeed in silence speak righteousness?’



7). See the Hebrew expression *mî wāmî* ‘who and who?’ in example (29) when Aaron and Moses were taken to Pharaoh and Pharaoh said: “Go, serve the LORD, your God, but who exactly are to go?” Since the Karaim translators make an effort to create translations that are as close to the Hebrew original as possible, in such cases, the Karaim translational equivalent *kim* ‘who?’ is repeated as well: *kim da kim* ‘who and who?’ Similarly, the question word *kim* ‘who?’ occurs twice in the Crimean Karaim translation, although the copula is attached to the second question word; i.e. *kim da kimdir* ‘who and who?’ can be observed.¹⁵

(29) a. Biblical Hebrew

mî wāmî hahōlķîm
 who? and who? the ones going.DEF.V:QAL.PCPL.MASC.PL.ABS
 ‘Who exactly are to go?’ Exod. 10:8

b. Halich Karaim

kim da kim ol baruwcu:lar
 who? and who? that going:PL
 ‘Who exactly are to go?’ Exod. 10:8 (147/3)

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)

kim da kim:dir ol waraĵaq:lar
 who? and who?:COP3SG that going:PL
 ‘Who exactly are to go?’ Exod. 10:8 (120/18)

The studied Trakai Karaim material provides no example of this feature.

3.3.3. Combined interrogative forms

The Halich Karaim translation contains an exceptional example where the two techniques of forming a question are combined; i.e. both a question word and a question particle are employed in the translation of the questions ‘Who has heard such a thing? Who has seen such things?’. In the book of Isaiah, in addition to the question word *kim* ‘who?’ the question particle is attached to the verbs: *ešittimo* ‘did (s)he hear?’, *kerdimio* ‘did (s)he see?’; see (30): *kim ešittimo bunun kibik kim kerdimo bular kibik* ‘who did hear such a thing? who did see such things?’. In the Hebrew original, there is only a question word, *mî* ‘who?’.

15 Repetition of a question word is also possible in Turkish. Consider *kim [...] ama kim* ‘who [...] but who’ in the poem *Dedikodu* ‘Gossip’ written by Orhan Veli:

<i>Kim söylemiş beni</i>	‘Who says
<i>Süheylâ’ya vurulmuşum diye?</i>	I’ve fallen for Suheyla?
<i>Kim görmüş, ama kim,</i>	Who saw me, who
<i>Eleni’yi öptüğümü,</i>	Kissing Eleni
<i>Yüksekkaldırında, güpegündüz?</i>	On the sidewalk in the middle of the day?

(30) a. Biblical Hebrew

<i>mî-</i>	<i>šāma^c</i>	<i>kāzō^ʔt</i>
who.Q	heard.V:QAL.PRF.MASC3SG	like this.PREP.ADJ:FEM.SG
<i>mî</i>	<i>rā^ʔā^h</i>	<i>kā^ʔēlle^h</i>
who.Q	saw.V:QAL.PRF.MASC3SG	like these.PREP.ADJ:BOTH.PL
‘who has heard such a thing? who has seen such things?’ Isa. 66:8		

b. Halich Karaim

<i>kim</i>	<i>ešit:ti:mo</i>	<i>bu:nun</i>	<i>kibik</i>
who.Q	hear:DI.PST3SG:Q	this:GEN	like
<i>kim</i>	<i>ker:di:mo</i>	<i>bu:lar</i>	<i>kibik</i>
who.Q	see:DI.PST3SG:Q	this:PL	like
‘who did hear such a thing? who did see such things?’ Isa. 66:8 (476/9)			

From the context, it is clear that the combined interrogative form does not represent an echo question, since no repetition of a previous utterance occurs in the discussed biblical verse, which reads as follows: “Before she was in labor she gave birth; before her pain came upon her she was delivered of a son. Who has heard such a thing? Who has seen such things? Shall a land be born in one day? Shall a nation be brought forth in one moment? For as soon as Zion was in labor she brought forth her sons.”

4. Final remarks

To sum up, the translation of Hebrew interrogative forms basically causes no problem to the Karaim translators. Sometimes, however, Biblical Hebrew uses special constructions, pronouns or particles for special types of interrogative sentences. In these cases, Karaim translators may copy the combinational properties of the original Hebrew construction, as happens when translating Hebrew wishes introduced with *mî* ‘who?’ or *mî-yittēn* ‘who will give?’ and often in questions containing demonstrative pronouns. In other cases, the translators copy only the semantics of the Hebrew original, especially in cases when the Hebrew clauses contain a combination of the question particle *hā-* and other particles, e.g. with the hypothetical particle *ʔim* ‘if’, *ḡam* ‘also, moreover’ and *ʔumnām* ‘indeed’.

My previous analysis of 60 pages of the manuscript of the Abrahamowicz Bible translation and comparison of its language with other Karaim Bible translations has led me to suppose that the Halich Karaim translation can “be classified as a close resemblant translation, and the Trakai Karaim and Crimean Karaim translations as representing the open resemblant translation type” (Olach 2013: 228). The examples presented in this study support my assumption that the Halich Karaim corpus represents the closest translation, whereas the Crimean Karaim materials seem to be the most open translations in relation to the Hebrew original. In terms of correspondence to the Hebrew Bible, the Trakai Karaim translations occupy a position between the Halich Karaim and the Crimean Karaim translations.

Abbreviations for languages and sources

CrKar	Crimean Karaim
HKar	Halich Karaim
TKar	Trakai Karaim
KRPS	Baskakov, Nikolaj A. & Zajączkowski, Ananiasz & Szapszal, Seraja M. 1974. <i>Karaimsko-russko-pol'skij slovar'</i> . Moskva: Russkij Jazyk.

Abbreviations for glosses of Hebrew examples

1	First person	N	Noun
2	Second person	NEG	Negation
3	Third person	NIPH	Verb form <i>niphal</i>
ABS	Absolute state	PIEL	Verb form <i>piel</i>
ADJ	Adjective	PRF	Perfect
ADV	Adverb	PRN	Pronoun
BOTH	Common gender	PL	Plural
CONJ	Conjunction	PREP	Preposition
CONST	Construct state	PTCL	Particle
DEF	Definite article	PTCP	Participle
DIR.OBJ	Direct object marker	Q	Interrogative particle
FEM	Feminine	QAL	Verb form <i>qal</i>
HIPH	Verb form <i>hiphil</i>	SG	Singular
INF	Infinitive	SUFF	Suffix
IPRF	Imperfect	V	Verb
MASC	Masculine	W.CONS	<i>Wāw</i> consecutive

Abbreviations for glosses of Karaim examples

1	First person	HYP	Hypothetical
2	Second person	IMP	Imperative
3	Third person	INF	Infinitive
ABL	Ablative	LOC	Locative
ACC	Accusative	NEG	Negation
A.CONV	Converb in <i>-(y)A</i>	OPT	Optative
A.NPST	Non-past in <i>-A / y</i>	P.CONV	Converb in <i>-(y)Ip</i>
COP	Copula	PL	Plural
DAT	Dative	POSS	Possessive
DI.PST	Past in <i>-DI</i>	Q	Interrogative particle
GAN	Participle in <i>-GAn</i>	R.NPST	Non-past in <i>-(V)r</i>
GEN	Genitive	SG	Singular

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